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palm's trunk during the war when acute food shortages existed. Most of the bags and mats made in Caticugan are woven from the buri while the hats worn by the people come from Bohol.

The sale of guhang furnishes many barriofolk with their largest source of cash income. The Siaton poblacion map (Plate XVII)¹ shows the number of stalls selling guhang. The widespread use of the buri to make guhang is shown by the number of dead palms (576) cut in six weeks by the provincial agriculture office in just Siaton poblacion. Many dead buris were left standing at the end of this project. If Siaton's municipal ordinance that requires each owner of a guhang buri to pay a tax of \$2.50 was effectively enforced, this local industry would bring a sizeable income to the municipality.

Older informants said when they were young little guhang was made in Siaton since only a few buris grew in the municipality. Some informants stated that the barriofolk of Siaton first learned how to make guhang from the people of Tolong. Once they learned the process they began to plant the palm. Other informants, however, said that Siaton men who worked in Dumaguete's Chinese bodegas (warehouses) learned to make guhang while in the city. When they returned to Siaton they introduced the process, teaching the people of Siaton how to make the mildly alcoholic drink. All available evidence, the possible derivation of Dumaguete's name (from mananguete, a specialist who makes guhang), the older settlement of Dumaguete,

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¹ [this plate (p. 128) is missing]

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Powdered tan-bark (tongog), purchased in the poblacion and pounded in the mortar, is added to the sap that has been collected in the jar. During the war when the tan-bark from Mindanao was unobtainable, the bark of the antipolo tree was used as a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute. Tan-bark is not grown locally, most of it comes from Mindanao, and costs about ten cents a pound in Siaton poblacion. The addition of the powdered tan-bark gives the guhang a golden color, improves its flavor, and is said to prevent diarrhea.

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Guhang vendors are always young girls or women, reflecting the general barrio pattern that vending is a woman's job. The vendor's profits are small. A dama (17 to 18 quarts) of guhang wholesales from the huri's owner for about seventy-five cents. The standard price for a quart of guhang in Siaton poblacion is five cents; therefore, a vendor's profit on a dama is about ten to fifteen cents.

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Profits of the vendors are limited not only by the price but by the supply of guhang. Often the stalls in Siaton poblacion would close early in the evening for lack of guhang. Every evening men, and a few women, usually residents of the poblacion, collect at the guhang stalls to drink and talk; I rarely saw intoxicated drinkers at these evening gatherings. A pleasant custom of the poblacion stall owners permits prospective customers to sample guhang to determine its taste, without cost, before buying.

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The sale of guhang is the most important source of the cash income of many families in Caticugan. I estimate that about 25 per cent of the families living in Caticugan owned buri palms. Some of these families, however, owned trees that were too young to produce guhang. It is difficult to estimate the average income made by selling guhang from typical buri. Profits depend on many variable factors such as the length of time the sap flows, the quantity obtained, the amount of tan-bark used, the taste of the guhang (said to depend on the age of the tree and the soil), and the amount given to friends.

Nearly all mananguetes agreed that the normal guhang buri produced for two to three months. One mananguete said he remembered a buri that gave sap for nine months but this was extraordinary. The process of obtaining sap "bleeds" the palm to death; after several months the buri is nearly dead and becomes somewhat dangerous to climb.

Profits from a buri producing sap for two to three months were estimated by some to be between \$50 to \$100. These estimates seem somewhat high. One guhang buri in Naga produced sap for five weeks; the gross profit from this palm was \$24, of which \$4 was spent for tan-bark. One buri in Barrio Caticugan flowed for one month netting the owner only \$8 "because so many of my relatives wanted free drinks that I had little to sell."

Through the cooperation of the owner, I was able to keep an account of one guhang-producing buri. This

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palm's sap started to flow April 14 and stopped June 22. The gross income of the owner was \$54 of which \$12 was spent for tan-bark, leaving a net profit of \$42. The money from guhag sales, deposited in a "bamboo bank" (a pole of the house wall), was not counted until the buri died so the figures are probably accurate.

The price of a mature buri in Siaton ranges from \$10 to \$25. In the municipal tax records buri owners are assessed one dollar for each palm. If the mananguete is not the tree's owner, profits are divided in several ways. Sometimes the profits are split 50-50 after the owner has deducted what he considers the buri's value. In another case the mananguete received one-fourth of the profits plus all the free guhag his family could consume. The money from the sale of guhag from this buri was deposited in a bamboo bank kept in the palm. The owner said he did not want to keep the cash in his near-by dwelling "because I might be tempted to gamble with it."

The buri's value is also reflected in the number of disputes that often result concerning its ownership and use. Three court cases occurred during my residence concerning the illegal use of another person's buri. In one case the defendant was accused by the plaintiff of illegally using two of his buris to make guhag and asked \$100 damage. There are many quarrels over buri palms that do not reach the local court. An example of such a quarrel that happened in Naga is given on the next page.

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damaged by farmyard animals they receive no care. Rats are the greatest pest. Sometimes the ground under many trees is littered with fallen young nuts that rats have gnawed to eat the tender meat. In Caticugan no one attempts to protect their trees from the rats. In the northern barrios now and then I saw thorny vines wound around the trunk to keep the rats from climbing the palm.

The first nuts of a palm are harvested without any ceremony. Normally in Caticugan the nuts are harvested every three months, by a man who climbs the tree using notches cut into the trunk. Nuts are either twisted from their stems or cut with a bolo. Husking the nuts is often done by the women. The nut is split and the meat extracted with a bolo or smaller knife; the meat is then dried on mats in the sun for three days. The copra (dried coconut meat) is sacked, carried to the poblacion and sold at any of several Chinese stores. Chinese copra dealers in Dumaguete send trucks along the National Road to pick up the copra from local stores.

It is difficult to assess the income the barrio people receive from their copra. Copra prices vary from year to year as do the harvests. A farmer in Barrio Caticugan said forty trees earned him fifty dollars in one year; another reported an income of sixty dollars from fifty trees. The owner of the largest coconut grove was not willing to divulge data of income received from copra. However, a tenant said just from one harvest the owner got twenty sacks of copra weighing from 135 to 150 pounds

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each. At the price copra was then selling, his crop would have brought around \$160. Since the coconuts are harvested four times a year his income for 1951 may have been about \$600.⁶⁷

Coconut trees in Caticugan and Siaton poblacion are free from the most destructive of coconut diseases, cadang-cadang. The greatest pest in this vicinity is the coconut beetle, bakokang, (Uang (Tag.): Oryctes rhinoceros Linn.)

The adult beetle bores into the cabbage of coconut and feeds on the more tender tissues. Holes in the trunk and coconut fronds of which the leaflets have been cut in bilaterally symmetrical pattern are tell-tale signs that the tree has been attacked by the pest. Standing dead trunks of coconuts are often attributed to its work. It is believed, however, that infestation by Oryctes alone does not kill a tree, but that it provides the entrance hole for the Asiatic palm weevil (Rhynchophorus ferrugineus Fabr) or the bud-rot organism [caused by Phytophthora palmivora Butler].⁶⁸

Dead buri palms are important breeding places for the bakokang in Caticugan. When the buri dies from producing guhag, the interior rots until the trunk is a hollow shell filled with sawdust-like material. Bakokang eggs are laid in these rotting interiors where the grubs develop. Once the buris stop giving guhag, the trees are permitted to stand; very few of them are cut by the barrio folk.

⁶⁷ Copra was loaded at the Dumaguete wharf in sacks of about 220 pounds and sold for \$11-15 per 220 pounds (100 kilos).

⁶⁸ Uichanco and Sacay, op. cit., I, p. 268.

Vegetables and Other Garden Crops

Vegetables approximate guhang as the most important source of cash income for the majority of families in Caticugan. The majority of barrio folk have a small home garden, plagued by insects, farmyard animals and lack of care. The gardens are rarely fenced. A number of families plant vegetables mainly for sale in the poblacion. Gardens are usually tended by women, who also sell the vegetables. In a recent descriptive account of a barrio in Bulacan province, Luzon, this fact is stated indirectly:

At Anilao [the name of the barrio] day begins in the night's small hours, when the men rise to go fishing...When the men return home at dawn, the women are up, breakfast has long been ready...All morning the men sleep, while the women work the vegetable gardens or gather grass to sell to rig drivers.⁷¹

Nearly every morning a few women from Caticugan could be seen carrying vegetables to sell to the poblacion.

Vegetable gardens often are planted on the canal banks in Caticugan. This location is considered desirable because the ground is usually moist and better drained during the rainy season when many gardens die of flooding. Pieces of thorny bamboo are put in the ground to support stringbeans, gourds and squashes. A few women hang strings of seaweed on the bamboo supports of the gourds and squashes; these are said to repel insects.

⁷¹"Life in Barrio Anilao," Philippines Free Press, XLIV, No. 40 (October 3, 1953), p. 28. This unsigned article consists mainly of photographs that present some realistic scenes of barrio life. Underlining in quotation by writer.

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